304 entire Pangwe region with extraordinary rapidity. In part, this
177 spread may have been facilitated by the influence of military events. It is related that the /199/ Ntum, in their battles with the Bulu, saw tattooing on the corpses of dead enemies and made their prisoners show them the art.

304 Tattooing occurs among members of both sexes, but espe-
832 cially among males. It serves very much the same purposes that were formerly served by body painting. The young people adorn themselves with it in order to outstrip others in courtship. Ornaments and courtship are one, "one and the same" (a ne dzám eda eda), as the Pangwe says. It is certainly true that attractive patterns can charm the eyes so much that one involuntarily comes to find its (male or female) owner more attractive than would have been the case without such an influence upon the sense of beauty.

304 Even small boys have themselves tattooed. Usually a half-moon pattern is made on their foreheads, but for the most part it is only faintly scratched in and therefore fades again so that scarcely anything remains visible under the patterns later applied. From the period of puberty on, the Pangwe have themselves tattooed more frequently, and at the age of 25 years, by which time this decoration has just about reached its climax, the number of patterns is quite considerable. Normally, face, shoulder, chest, and the belly down to the navel are tattooed. Frequently, tattoos are also applied to the back -- usually only on the upper half -- and to the arm down to below the elbow joint, rarely to the hands and lower arm or to the belly below the navel (1).

1. On the neck only among the Jaunde and infrequently among them.

304 For reasons of modesty, the seat and upper thigh remain free of
577 tattooed adornment, since it would, after all, be too indecent to draw attention by means of the patterns to these parts of the body which, with the original mode of dress, "unfortunately" often remain uncovered. Only in exceptional cases does one see women among the Jaunde, Bulu, and coastal Mwai who have tattooed

777 was gone. Then his brother said, "You see what I told you?
539 If you had not married this woman, everything would have been as it was yesterday, but as it is you have nothing left." Emam mese masámabo ava. (Customary conclusion of tales.)

It is noteworthy that homosexual intercourse is included
777 among the medicines for wealth because it is believed that
838 through the intimate contact the medicine of one will be transferred to the other. In a case known to me in Ebaängon, the passive party possessed the medicine and the active party wanted to acquire it. Another case is related in the tale that I reproduce in Section 18. In actual fact it might turn out that the effect of the medicine consists in the mutual support the two "friends" render each other, based chiefly on the consciousness of common guilt and the endeavor not to let this guilt be known. This medicine is not without danger, for in the case just mentioned it was related that one of the men became blind and the other leprous, and in the tale both parties become leprous or suffer from frambesia.

A variant of the medicines for wealth consists of those
777 which especially help one to marry or abduct women (biǎ̱ń e bə̄m); another variant consists of the means to acquire influence and respect (biǎ̱ń e bąme, biǎ̱ń a vōge), such as the great Anonacea
[824] Pachypodanthium confius Pierre, Engl. et D. (ntŭ̄m I) and the Melastomacea Memexylon tessmannii Gilg (ntŭ̄mǎ IV) which, in addition, is also regarded as an authentic medicine for wealth.

In addition to the medicines for acquiring wealth, the most
● 832 important and the most common are the love medicines (biǎ̱ń anduman). No less than about 100 different plants are placed in the service of Venus.

If the inhabitants of a village have the idea that the love affairs of the young people need revitalizing, a general love medicine festival (engə̄́nežə̌́k) is arranged, which is celebrated under the supervision and with the cooperation of the ancestral skulls worshipped in the Malan. Consequently, only the initiates of the Malan may take part. The course of the festivities together with the period of preparation corresponds to that described in the section on cult festivals /Ed., not translated/: two feast

832 days and the establishment of a sacred place, on which the Fang even set up a female figure of clay. During the seven days of preparation, the necessary medicines are obtained.

[824] These are bark, scraped off the Anonacea Monodora tenuifolia
Bth. (fŏb IV) and the Olacacea avŏm, and a small elephant's
[825] tooth, into which are put the following /159/ things.

[826] 1. The most important is the larynx (engŏ́n) of a famous singer, especially of one who was versed in love songs, or the larynx of a woman who before the payment of the bride price allowed herself to be abducted by her lover. The aim is to obtain the power of the singer, who was loved on account of his voice (famous tenors even in other countries are, after all, not only popular but also loved), and to be loved as he was, or one desires to have the woman consent (with her larynx = voice) to follow the call of love as quickly as did the woman whose larynx has been placed inside the elephant's tooth. The name engŏ́ne-žŏ́k was chosen because of the desire to pretend that only the throat of an elephant (žŏ́k) was involved and to avoid naming the real contents, the human throat. As a name for the whole thing, engongeschok is intended to veil the meaning of the feast just as the animal names conceal the purpose of the cults. In other words, whatever you do, don't call a spade a spade.

2. Sex organs of a mother-in-law, the one who has given birth to the daughter and loved one.

[826] 3. The bones of an albino (mvēĭ-mōt), preferred by women because of the skin color (1).

[154] 1. Opinions concerning an albino vary a great deal; in other areas an albino is less highly regarded (Jaunde).

4. The bones of twins, because of the desire to be united with the loved one just as twins are united in the mother's womb.

[821] 5. Fulgurites (abī'-zĭ'lăn), so the love will be as powerful as the lightning that throws down the tallest trees.

6. nsŭ, so that the sorcerous beings (= evil persons) will not

[or possibly "tusk"; see figure 55, page 26.-Analyst]

832 destroy the medicine.

7. The tooth of a chief, to make one capable of talking as well as a chief, who obviously wins his wives by his words.

824 8. Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fŏb IV).

832 9. Ocimum basilicum L. (ŏsi m), the "forget-me-not of the Pangwe (a siman, "to remember, not to forget"); the woman will not forget her lover.

10. Aeolanthus edlingeri Gürke, labiates (elĕngelănge Fang) with which the women like to adorn themselves since they smell pleasant and have a soporific effect.

11. Abutilon indicum Sw., Malvacea (abofu' III), since the plant has a white sheen, and the woman must see the lover as "pure" as the plant. The tooth is closed off with wax, and a parrot feather, which must have been found in the woods, is stuck on it (Fig. 55).

This medicine brings good luck otherwise than just during
832 the festive period; one could say that it performs miracles. Placed under the threshold in the house of the beloved, in such a way that the girl does not see it, it makes her "consent" immediately when the lover wants to abduct her; if before this, she did not love the suitor, she will now prefer him to all others. In short, she will henceforth "only say yes," and all this has been brought about by the engongeschok with its throat (= voice).

Monodora and avŏm in a leaf bag are placed in a pot of water, and this is suspended from flexible rod in the center of the festive area in front of the meeting house (Fig. 56, a). The /160/ festive area is customarily closed off by a curtain of raffia leaves; within it /Fig. 55 appears here in the original text/ a peculiar frame (Fig. 56 b) is set up, which, the natives say, is meant to represent traps. In addition, a cult place is cleared at the side of the house, where actual traps are set up. I shall return to these in a moment. A civet's skin with two tail pieces, into which is sewn a love medicine, is hung from the frame.

When all this is ready, the festive goat is fetched, and the ancestral skulls are told that everything is in readiness. Now the actual festival, which lasts two days, can begin.

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Fig. 55. Love Medicine, engongeschok (elephant's tusk with love medicine in it).

In the love festival that I witnessed in Ebläangon, the procedure was as follows. On the first day a dance to the accompaniment of drums took place in the festive area. At the dance, the leading singer swung the civet skin around and made a clatter with the inevitable cymbals. The chief and medicine man (they are not always one and the same person) thereupon

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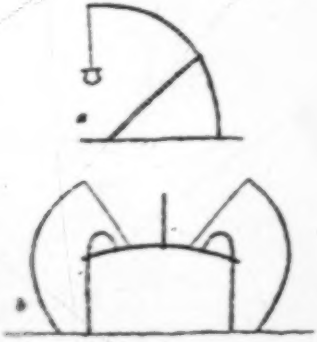

Fig. 56. Love Medicine Festival engongeschok in Ebläangon (Esseng Family).
(a) Pot with love medicine suspended from a rod; (b) frame to deceive the uninitiated as to the purpose of the [illegible]bration.

went to the pot, took the bag out, called the participants individually from the circle, asked them to sit down (see Fig. 57), and sprinkled the medicine /Fig. 56 appears here in the original text/ water on their foreheads in such a way that it ran down the bridge of the nose to the tip. If this did not succeed immediately, the procedure was repeated two to three

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Fig. 57. Washing the Forehead at the Love Medicine Festival.

times, and in the case of very recalcitrant drops, the medicine was wiped down the bridge of the nose with a bundle of Abutilon leaves. The festive company then moved to the cult [778] place, in this case called a love grove (elik andʊ̈mǎn). Just as the cult figures are usually set up on the trees (because of the [824] sorcerous beings, trees with spikes are chosen) and just as the [532] medicines for wealth are made up under the soul tree, the Copaifera, in the same way the love tree belongs to the love grove, namely the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edžĭ,) (1). In Ebăngon the tree was only a small one, but

1. a dži-ń, "to love."

often they are huge specimens. In the background a kind of bench of rods was erected, and under it were heaped a great many twigs of various trees regarded as love medicine. Then the ancestral skulls were set up behind the bench, and the twigs ignited. Those persons who needed an improvement in their love affairs, /161/ /Fig. 57 appears here in the original text/ lay down on the bench and allowed themselves to be thoroughly

832 fumigated (Fig. 58), while the skulls with cold severity surveyed the situation, until they themselves had justice done to them, for they were carried in a dance around the love tree. Meanwhile, a number of the participants took red dye and with it drew a line on the bark of the love tree, observing that they themselves would like to look like this in the eyes of their beloved. Another one took black dye in addition to the red and first made a red line, saying, "In the eyes of the girl to which I shall go (he probably was not allowed to pronounce her name) I want to appear like this (red)"; then he drew a black line and added, "On the other hand, the girl shall see all others like this (black line)." We already know that red is the color of life, [822] of joy, and of light. Black here signifies its opposite, the unpleasant and ugly.

832 769 Finally, a small punishment was meted out to the ancestral skulls by sticking them in the above-mentioned draw traps set up around the tree and leaving them there until the next day. Such a punishment of the ancestors is very rare, and it is significant that it does not occur at the Malan but in connection with the love medicine, which is to be regarded as a degenerate form of the Malan. Then around the tree a great variety of other medicines were distributed, such as red dye and a piece from the loincloth of a mother-in-law. Among the Fang the genitals [826] themselves are supposed to be taken, these having been cut from the deceased mother-in-law. /162/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text/

832 783 [405] On the forenoon of the second day of the festival about 25 banana leaf vessels were set up in a row in the festive area and filled with freshly fetched water. Into the first vessel the medicine man put a whole pile of bark pieces and leaves, all of them love medicines. The other vessels were treated in a more perfunctory fashion: only a few pieces of bark were placed in the second vessel, and in each of the following, only one; the last vessels did not get anything. The medicine man then sat down at the first vessel, blew into it with a pipe, whereupon a thick, [388] soap-like foam arose, which supposedly comes from the bark of [824] the Cylicodiscus gabunensis (Taub) Harms (eddm), and then washed his face, first in this vessel and then in all the following

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Fig. 58. Love Medicine Feast, engongeschok. A number of young men have themselves fumigated over a fire in which love medicines are burned. Ancestral skulls are in the background. Ebiangon (Esseng family).

ones as rapidly as possible. The aim is to purify oneself and through the external purification to bring about an inner one so that the beloved girl will see her suitor pure, white as the leaves of Abutilon, and then love him. Whether the desired effect is achieved, I must confess I do not know; externally, at any rate, the favorable effect of the water cannot be denied. The foam is intended to cause the girl's heart to "open up" in the same way. This ablution may also be undertaken at times other than at the love festival, for instance, when a person has his eye on a certain girl, but in that case, the nails, [826] head hair, pubic hair, and underarm hair of this girl must also be put in the vessel. /163/

While the ablution was still going on, two people ran down 832 the village square and threw the civet skin back and forth to 526 each other, crossing each other's paths as they ran. People amused themselves with a similar ball game, whose significance I was unable to discover during the subsequent dance.

832 I was unable to discover during the subsequent dance.

The concluding celebration took place in the love grove. A man seized the tree with one hand and swayed about, while the others took the skulls from the traps, danced with them in the opposite direction around the tree, and were embraced by him every time they passed him. Then the festive goat was [832] brought and slaughtered, its blood was poured over the skulls and medicines, and a speech of conciliation was addressed to

Fig. 59.

[824] Love Medicine of the Wood of Monodora tenuifolia.

the skulls. This speech culminated with the request that they should not be angry for having lain outside without food; a goat had now been brought to them, and they were from now on expected to make every effort to assist their descendants in matters of the heart. So the festival ended to the satisfaction of both the skulls and the young men.

It would be impossible here to cite by name all the plants 832 used for love medicines; all we can do is to mention the 824 criteria that were paramount in choosing them, as well as a number of examples. In each case, some quality that is to be transferred to the person is involved, for example, the following.

1. Abundance of blossoms, fruit, and shoots, especially when the blossoms or shoots are beautiful; the desire is to appear likewise in the eyes of the beloved. Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fŏb IV), (Fig. 59), because of its luxuriant shoots with magnificent leaves; furthermore, the Simarubacea Desbordesia glaucescens Engl. (alŏ'bə), with its resplendent red to blue shoots.

2. Beauty of the blossoms. Examples: many orchids (ə)fə'ə - ofŏ'b) and Scitamineae, like Aframomum hanburyi K. Sch. obə'(ə) -adŏ'ŏm, blossoms atsə'(k) adŏ'ŏm) and Canna bidentata Bertol (ekŏ'n e ŏ'ŏk); furthermore, Mussaenda species, which have colorful top leaves.

3. Beauty of the leaves. Example: Phyllanthus cappillaris Schum. et Thom. (mg̃bɛ̃ III), with its delicate leaves, and the cordate Geophila speciosa K. Sch. (esɔ̃k-okɔ̃ke).

4. Beauty of the stems. Examples: Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill. (eg̃n); Triplochiton tessmannii (ajɔ̃); and, above all, Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edzi) already mentioned.

5. The white color of the stems and leaves: Voacanga obtusa K. Schum. (edũmvɔ̃n a zɔ̃m); Polygonum lanigerum R. Br. (elãmĩ); and Abutilon indicum Sw. (abofũ') already mentioned. /164/

6. The fact that the trees are isolated (certain trees are supposed to keep down smaller ones through the development of their crowns; in the same way, one wants to keep rivals at a distance), such as engɔ̃kũm and Memexylon tessmannii Gilg (ntɔ̃mɔ̃ IV).

7. Beautiful fragrance, such as afɔ̃n and Plectranthus (avɔ̃).

8. Tendency of the plants to wind around others; one wants to be united with the woman in just the same way. Examples: the parts of two lianas that have grown together (Fig. 60) and roots which wind around each other, like those of the Dracaena viridiflora Engl. and Kr. (alɔ̃n-ogbwɔ̃ III); furthermore, the tendency of plants to wind around other growths, in particular the Rubiacea Sabicea calycina Benth. (okɔ̃dãn) (1), the Asclepiadacea

1. a kɔ̃-dãn, "to wind around, to wind around each other."

Secamone myrtifolia Bth. (okɔ̃amalɔ̃n), and others.

9. Formation of burrs; the desire is to stick to the woman like a burr. Examples: Desmodium species (obɔ̃bonzɛ̃n), (burr fruits); the Cyperacea Scleria barteri Bckl. (pfãfɔ̃lɔ̃ III Ntum), whose leaves and stalks are sticky; and especially the grass Streptogyne crinita R. Beauv. (nkã,m I, nkã,mesɔ̃sɔ̃ I), whose panicles stick together with extraordinary firmness. /Fig. 60 appears here in the original text./

10. Popularity among women. Examples: Kolobopetalum auriculatum Engl. (andɔ̃me III), popular among women as a belt;

832 824 Lygodium smithianum Pr. (ozǒk), used by women for ornaments.

I was unable to obtain any satisfactory explanation as to why a number of Ficus species, certain Amaryllidaceae, and gall nuts of the Microglossa volubilis (Wall) D.C. (mvũvũ') are used as love medicines.

832 825 Aside from plant ingredients, which are used in preponderant number for love medicines, antelope horns (Fig. 61) are especially popular. These are worn as forehead or neck ornaments, and when they are supposed to be effective, they are blown like a whistle. Just as an antelope never has a single horn, but always a pair, so a person should not be alone, but with another.

777 824 224 The no less abundant shot medicines make up a third group of medicines for good luck. Of the 109 plants used for these, 67 are rifle medicines (biǎ́ń ngā́), that is, medicines that guarantee

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Fig. 60. Love Medicine: a piece formed by two lianas so grown together that they appear as one.

a good shot with the rifle; two war medicines (biǎ́ń betǎ), 18 hunting medicines (biǎ́ń tít), four crossbow medicines (bia n mbǎn), two medicines for hunting drives (biǎ́ń a kíń tít), two medicines /165/ for a lucky eye in hunting, and 14 medicines that raise the hunting efficiency of the dogs (biǎ́ń mvíń) (Fig. 62).

The ingredients of the shot medicines are chosen according to various criteria. First the intention is to lure the game. Hence one takes parts of trees "loved" by the animal (that is, the animal likes to visit them, and hence will visit /Fig. 61 appears here in the original text/ the hunter who has them, even in the form of medicine). In other cases, parts that resemble animals are taken from trees, for example, the tendrils of the Cucinotis tessmannii Gilg (nǐ̌m osǒ̌k, " tail of the red-tailed monkey"), which resemble

[Text continues on page 34]

2: Tessmann--33 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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Fig. 61. Love Medicine, Horn of the Dwarf Antelope, usually Worn on Forehead and Hung from the Helmet Hairdo.

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Fig. 62
(Caption on following page.)

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the feces or anus) as a deterrent medicine for thefts from the field and the significant tale of the turtle and the woman. A turtle wants to force a girl against her will to become his wife, and after all kinds of vain attempts finally succeeds only by smearing the girl's bed and clothes one night with his own feces. Having done so, he lies down to sleep, and the next morning when the girl sees the mess, he threatens to tell in the village and all the world that she had befouled her bed. The turtle thus put the girl completely in his power and forced her to agree to the marriage.

539 836 514 the girl going into her mother's house, quickly stole after her through the plantain grove, and listened behind the house to what the girl might say; not by a single word did she mention the incident. He then went back with a joyful heart, and said to himself: "This girl truly loves me." After two days he returned, asked for her hand in marriage, and took her back to his village as his wife.

This tale gave rise to the popular saying: ng(e) oa dzi'n ma, obébé', ng(e) oa bône ma: obébé'.

● 832 The great number of love medicines (bia'n andu'man), which very graphically symbolize the fusion and embracing of the sexes (in a spiritual as well as a physical sense), has already been discussed in Volume II, page 30 .

848 836 Illegitimate children are quite rare. The child's father -- even when he is known -- has no claim upon the child, just as the girl has no claim upon the father. The child belongs to the girl's father and is regarded as a not altogether unwelcome addition, since when the girl marries, it considerably raises her purchase price. As long as the mother remains unmarried, her child stays in the house of her parents. When she marries, the child becomes /259/ a part of the marriage bargain, as it were, and is considered

841 Hence, according to rule, menstruation should start in the first few days after the new moon, but unfortunately the white-haired old fellow seems to take his task rather lightly and is rarely dependable. In order to hasten the appearance of menstruation and thereby to make the girl capable of bearing children or, better yet, to make her accessible to men, a medicine is used. Sexual intercourse during menstruation is not exactly prohibited, but it
[834] is nonetheless regarded as unaesthetic and is usually avoided. In
[824] order to staunch the blood (a dĭĭ̯ə makjɨ), the women stuff dry plantain tow into the vagina, a process which they repeat from time to time. They also have medicines designed to hasten the end of the flow of blood.

832 In view of the lack of moderation with which the Pangwe from
824 early youth indulge their sexual desires, the young man at an early age feels the need to fortify his sexual powers. For this reason, they take medicines, bĭĭ̯ə nkɨn, medicines for the penis, whose effects are thought of as a transference of characteristics, in accordance with the conceptions described earlier concerning the power of organization /Ed., not translated/. I shall mention the following.

1. Hardwoods, to transfer their hardness to the penis: Albizzia brownei Oliv., Leguminosae (angɔ̆k); Baccaurea bipindensis Pax., Euphorbiaceae (mbə̆n-afə̆n I), leaves ground in ngon and eaten; Carpolabia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onɔ̆n, tɔ̆mo[k] IV Fang, tɔ̆me Ntum), a remedy frequently used, /285/ /Fig. 85 appears here in the original text/ the leaves eaten with an egg and a piece of the stem is tied around the body so that it lies over the seat (Fig. 85, a); Cyclostemon gilgianus Pax., Euphorbiaceae (onɔ̆d nɔ́k, t. -nɔ́k), root scraped into an egg, stem piece worn as in the previous case; Tricalysia tessmannii Krause, Rubiaceae (tɔ̆me-afə̆n IV Ntum), likewise; Cola pachycarpa K. Schum., Sterculiaceae (ekɔ̆m), fruit kernels eaten; Clerodendron bipindense Gürke, Verbenaceae (ndĭĭ̯ke fə̆m = men's liana), leaves ground with true Cola and eaten.

2. Thorns whose stiffness is supposed to be transferred to the penis: Loochocarpus barteri Benth., Leguminosae (ɔ̆ɔ̆' a fə̆m a

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Fig. 85. Medicines to reinforce virility, worn at the belt, usually over the seat.
(a) Wood of Carpolabia alba, (b) tibia bone of a cock, (c) caudal vertebrae of the leopard.

nsɔ̌ɔ̌ɔ́k I], and perhaps also Combretum tessmannii G.lb. (anduń a ndžík). In the case of the first two, the thorns are boiled in a bundle together with various spices and the leaves of other fortifying plants (so that the strength of the thorn goes into the food and thus enters the body); then the thorn is taken out and worn on the forehead or over the seat. The leaves of Combretum tessmannii are cut up and eaten with an egg. Also Macaranga ledermanniana Pax., Euphorbiacea (kɔ̌ɔ́a III, asǩɛ́), is used; pieces of the bark (with the thorns) are boiled and strained, and the liquid is drunk hot.

3. Sharp leaves and stalks: Scleria barteri Bckl., Cyperaceae (pfɛ̌ɛ̌ɔ́ɔ́ III Num, from pfɛ̌ = sword, bushknife, and -- perhaps -- afɔ́ɔ́, afɔ̌ɔ̌ǩɔ́ = hat, because the climbing reeds threaten to cut up the hat? It is called "bushknife" in coastal English. The young leaves are eaten.

4. Bitter and sharp substances: salt; black pepper (Capsicum); melegueta pepper, that is, seeds of Aframomum melegueta (Rosc) K. Sch. (andǩɔ́ = seed; ndǩɔ́) (1); Andropogon schoenanthus

1. Root tu, ndu = warm, hot; compare ndukɔ́n = fire; o-tu = bush hair, torch; o-tu-m = Urticacea Tragia cordifolia

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824 Pax, burns; a-ndu-ń a ndźik = Combretum tessmannii Gilg (see above).

L. (designation questionable) (oĭ̄m e ntăngăn), root eaten; Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.), Sterculiacea (abĕ).

5. Substances that cause itching: Tragia cordifolia Pax (otūm), leaves ground and eaten with an egg; likewise Urera dinklagei Engl., Urticaceae (sā[s] ndźi'k).

6. Heating substances (designation of the natives): Derris glabrata Welw. (ejŭn e ndźik), root and leaves ground, boiled with spices, strained, and the liquid drunk. /266/

7. Explanation unknown: Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (asă'm) (perhaps because of strong wood?); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiaceae (oli fă'm = men's little tree), little pieces of the stem stuck in the hair (hardwood?); Geophila herbacea L., Rubiaceae (elō[k] a tŏn), leaves ground with Cola and chewed (leaves are durable, "strong," perhaps for that reason?).

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825 Of animals, the meat of the spiny-finned sheatfish, which is very fat, is considered a stimulant of the first rank; furthermore, the tibia bone of a cock (Fig. 85, b) is worn on the body because of the spur, as are caudal vertebrae of the leopard (Fig. 85, c) because of the strength of the tail.

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279 The medicines for impotence (biắń a ĵê or biắń eĵê) should be distinguished from the stimulants (aphrodisiacs). There are thought to be two forms of impotence: one dating from earliest youth, and one acquired later in life. The former, it is said, came about because the persons concerned had urinated in their food as very small children while they were being fed pap by their mothers. Another version is lined with the belief in magic: a boy is thought capable of giving away his sexual power (see belief in magic, Vol. II, p. 134 /Ed., not translated/) in exchange for the power of sorcery, that is, power over other people. Perhaps this conception stems from the fear that impotent persons try to avenge themselves on their fellow human beings for their misfortune. The medicines for impotence are not numerous, but they actually seem

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Sentence 9: agbŭ́ń zāngbwā́ (seven antelopes) d'a ke a bē agbŭ́ń asiḗmen (six).

Sentence 10: agbŭ́ń mūŏ́m (eight antelopes) d'a ke a bē agbŭ́ń zāngbwā́ (seven).

Sentence 11. agbŭ́ń ebū́ (nine antelopes) d'a ke a bē agbŭ́ń mūŏ́m (eight).

Sentence 12. agbŭ́ń avŏ́m (ten antelopes) d'a ke a bē agbŭ́ń ebū́ (nine).

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Young lovers like to play the game with their girls, as may be surmised from the somewhat romantic text. Jokingly, the girl says that she will give herself only to the one who can go through the entire game without making a mistake.

The Memory Game (nkŭ́k ondūle or endĕ́le)

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This game is known only among the Fang and a number of adjoining Ntum kin groups, and it is supposedly indigenous. A flat staff with short, paired transverse extensions and vertically inserted knobs is used in the game. The end of the staff usually has a head carved on it (Fig. 113). Each pair of transverse extensions, along with the knob and the adjacent lower part of the staff, forms a segment on which eleven different points are designated for the answers (see Fig. 114).

The game may have developed from an older, simpler one in which the individual parts of the human body were enumerated. This notion is suggested by the designation of the staff as the body, of the carved end -- even when it is not a regular head -- as neck and head, by the tripartite arrangement of the transverse extensions -- absent in Figure 113 -- (corresponding to the upper arm, the

[822]
[831]

Fig. 112. Stick with Pieces of Raffia used as Mnemonic Device in the Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope. About one-fourth actual size.

family has given him a second name, Ekure Nzork (elephant hide), which corresponds to the wish made by the grandparents that their grandson may be as tough as elephant hide. Still other names may be given by other relatives, each of these corresponding to an affectionate feeling or a wish for the child. Andzang [misprinted Andang in original] has a third name given by the wife of one of his uncles, Nzul Weya (young civet), that is to say "as handsome as a civet," civet skin formerly having been worn as an ornament by young Pahouin wanting to make female conquests.

When a man has had several children who have died at an early age, in order that the newborn may not die like the others he gives him the name of an animal: Ngi (gorilla), Waǧa (chimpanzee), Nze (panther), Mvina (antelope), etc...

Sometimes the child receives a name referring to an incident of his birth. A child may be called: Mefan (from afan, the forest), if he is born in the forest; Bemvaṅ (from mvaṅ, rain), if he was born in the rain or on a rainy day; or Biteǧé (from eteǧ, mourning), if he was born after the death of his father, during his mother's mourning, etc...

Actually in all the N'Djolé region children are given a Christian name, in addition to their native names, even if neither the parents nor the child have any contact with the missions. It is also quite usual to see children bearing European proper names, names which were given them because the parents thought them pretty. Similarly, one meets children called Captain, Major, Militiaman, etc... , and always the parents give as reason for their choice that the name taken for the child is beautiful.

The child belongs to its father and cannot be dependent on the mother unless she has been repudiated and the father has waived his claim to reimbursement.

Nursing continues until eighteen months or two years, but at about the age of six months, in addition to the breast, the child gets the same food as its parents except for fish, meat, and salt, which are forbidden him.

The physical care given the child is reduced to the minimum: he lives naked until the age of about ten years and is bathed every day. When he can walk, he is put on his own and plays with the other children of the village, boys and girls together. While he is still rather

881 During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the
304 boys' food certain aphrodisiac stimulants, cardamon seeds [524]
719 (Amomum citriodorum), a wonderful red fruit (Lavigeria), and
832 onzakôn (Antrocaryon klaineanum) which, apart from these oc-
824 casions, only women may eat. They are even forbidden to say the name of that tree, because the word nkôn denotes the male genital organ; they must say onzabili, the onza tree. In addition the fruit of the onzakôn has a slight resemblance to a phallus.

Throughout their seclusion the children sleep stretched out
881 on the ashes of the hearths. They must tell the chief what they
304 have dreamt about; the family totem ought, in fact, to re-
719 veal itself to them at this time. Since the chief speaks to the
824 children frequently and since they know that they are supposed to have the totem in mind, the suggestion, intimate and strange at the same time, leads easily to the desired result. If, however, a different object from the family totem, animal or other, appears more vividly and repeatedly in their imaginations, it would be a sign that the totemic guardian spirit wants to adopt another medium and, consequently, the child's totem, if he has a personal one, has to be changed.

5) The ceremony

881 On the day of the operation, the practitioner, who has
304 been forewarned, goes to the enclosure, accompanied by the
719 fathers. Each child is questioned in turn; then there is a big dance performed in honor of the ancestors and guardian spirits of the clan. Each head of the family has brought along his mvamayôn and now explains it to the child. A new dance is done after this initiation. Each father then stretches his son out on the ground, sits down beside him, and slips his legs beneath the child's body in such a way as to raise the middle of the body. The practitioner has a knife in hand kept specially for this purpose and carefully wrapped in a little sheath. The
[413] knife used to be made of stone, but that kind has become very rare. Knives are now usually made of copper and are curiously worked, one end being beak shaped, the other pointed; they are not hafted. These knives are called ekôlokôn.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

789 *bieti*). He brings it. He eats the fowl. When finished, he takes a bone of the fowl and the excrement of the *bieti*. He cuts his nails and his hair. He ties (all these things) up in a bundle or packs them inside the horn of a small deer and keeps it.

When a man goes on a journey he carries this medicine with him. Another person cannot see him as he journeys.

This is the *Bieng e Seli*.

Bieng-akoma.—The people get up and take machetes and cut a clearing. When they have finished the clearing is open and bright. If a man has died and been long in the grave, they take his bones, and lay them out on the ground. They cover them over with earth. They take other bones, and cut them up into small pieces. They put (these pieces) in a basket: they put in also red dye, and scrapings from the bark of trees. They close up the basket. If they go to war, they carry the basket (suspended by a cord from) the shoulder. They take the red dye which is in the basket and smear the body with it. If an enemy (literally, a person) [726] fires a gun (at them), they will not be pierced (by the pieces of iron pot used as bullets).

This is the *Bieng-akoma*. Do not tell it to women or children; only to grown real men—for it is tabooed.

Nsuke Bulwa.—Fang make it thus. If a man makes witch medicine, he kills 754 his brother and other people. They say, let us make *nsuke bulwa*. They take a corpse, and go with it to the bush. They cut bush. The bush is clear and open. They sweep clear the place which they have cut. They lay down the corpse in the place which they have swept. They dig plenty of dirt, and make it in the shape of an elephant (over the corpse). They make the trunk, the tusks, the eyes, the legs, the tail, the ears. They finish and return to the town. They say, we have made *nsuke bulwa* (*nsuke* means elephant). They say if a man goes out to kill by witchcraft, he will die. If a man wishes to kill another with poison, he will die. If a man lies with a woman in the daytime he will die. Let not a woman eat a pig. And so they say, they have made this fetish, the *nsuke-bulwa*. When they have done so, if a man lies with a woman in the daytime he gets sick. They go and scrape trees in the bush; they bring water from the river, and put the scrapings in the water. They catch a fowl outside and put it in the medicine-water. They touch the man's body over with the fowl. And so that man, they heal him from his fetish-sickness. Then he is well.

This is *Nsuke bulwa*.

Bieng-abetieng.—If a man has married two or three women, and loves one, but ●832 dislikes the others, the latter feel badly. They make *bieng abetieng*. When they [514] go to pass their faeces, they take a very small piece of their faeces. They rub off the grease from their skin, and mix this grease with the small piece of dung. They put it (the mixture) on the drying-shelf (over the fire). When it is dry they mash it to powder, and put it in the neck of a gourd. They take also a shrub called *abetet* (known only by women) and put it in a small gourd (not the neck of

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gourd mentioned above). They put oil in it. They keep it hidden. No one else is allowed to see it. 832

When the woman cooks food for her husband, she takes the medicine, which she puts in the neck of the gourd, and puts it in her husband's food, then his heart is changed. In the evening the woman smears herself with the *abatoñg*, which she had put in the small gourd. When she and her husband lie down, if she touches her husband, the medicine which she has eaten makes his heart change. Though he liked her before, now he loves her on account of the *biang-abationg*.

This is the *Biang-abationg*.

Biang-mikal (adultery medicine).—People go and scrape medicine in the bush. If they come with the medicine, they put it in the pot. They put water in the pot. They go and catch a fowl. They cut the fowl's neck; they put the blood in the medicine with the scrapings from trees. They take medicine that is in the water, they pour it on the person's head. They also take a certain medicine called *ngwcia* and rub it on the face of the sick person. They again rub it on his belly. Then they have cured the person of the *minkal*. The fowl used is not to be eaten by the sick person, others may do so. Then he is healed. 837 755 695

This is the same medicine used to detect adultery. If a person commits adultery with another man's wife, and then speaks a lie denying the affair, the person accused must drink the *biang-mikal* to show the people he is innocent. If he is guilty the medicine makes him sick, and he dies or trouble comes to his people. If guilty, medicine is made to call the curse back. 837 795

This is the *Biang-mikal*.

Biang-adwas (medicine for young men, eloping medicine).—If a person goes on a journey and sees a virgin, he courts or loves her. Then the virgin accepts him. He and she go and lie down. The young man says, "Let us go in my town." If the virgin does not accept, then the young man tries to persuade her. The virgin says, "I go later." The young man says, "If you go later, give me hair for a souvenir." Then the virgin scratches over her heart. She takes the hair of her head and the blood from the scratch over her heart and gives it to the young man. He goes to his town, he says, "I'll first make medicine." He takes the hair and the blood. He takes a small piece of witch medicine. He also takes plenty of leaves. He puts the small piece of witch medicine with the leaves. The hair and the blood he also puts in the leaves. He mixes all in the leaves. He hangs them in the *bieti* basket. He says, "*Bieti*, I want to marry a woman. Take her for me." This eloping medicine hangs one day. In the morning he cuts medicine and puts it on top of a tree. He leaves the medicine on top of the tree. He goes again to the young virgin. He says, "I have come, I come to take you." The young virgin says, "I will go to-morrow." He sleeps. The young man when day breaks says, "Let us go." The young virgin says, "I will surely go." Then the young man elopes with the young virgin; he comes with her to his town. Father of the young virgin he comes vexed. The young man kills a goat for the father of the young virgin. They finish eating the goat. He (the father) sleeps one day. Next morning the young man 584 132 583

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832 584 583 gives him (the father) the *beki* (dowry). The father of the young virgin takes the goods to his town; the young man remains in possession of the woman.

They marry with *biang-ndoma*, eloping medicine thus.

This is *Biang-ndoma*.

Biang-akong (war medicine).—Told me by Fam-deu, a Fang, Esisis clan, at 721 789 Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 19th, 1898. This *biang* was illustrated to me; a leopard tooth is the *Biang-akong*.

Make a bowl of war medicine, of leaves, roots, and bark. Call all people of the town. Drop the leopard tooth into the medicine. If the point of the tooth *looks* toward the people we have a palaver (trouble) with, then we must go and fight and we will win. If the root of the tooth points toward the people we have a palaver with, then we must *tabe si* (sit down) or our enemies will win if we go to fight them.

This is the *Biang-akong*.

Biang-akamayong.—This *biang* is the protector of the tribe or nation (*ayóng*, 789 tribe).

619 Told me by Esôya-ôvum, the headman of Foulabifong on the Nkomo river, 622 who sold me the complete set of the *Biang-akamayong* belonging to the dead headman "Commisan." I present this *biang* for your inspection this evening. The tin canister was obtained from a white man and is used in place of the usual basket to carry bones in. It contains portions of the skull of an albino (male), portions of the skull of a *mon nguri*, young chimpanzee, red powder and a variety of native medicine.

[726] This *biang-akamayong* is always carried by the headman of a town during war.

[534] A bell hangs from the bottom of the canister containing the bones; it rings when the headman walks.

Nlo.—The small horn belonging to the *biang-akamayong* has *ngom* (porcupine tail) in it, also native medicine. It is used to cure people having witches. A bowl of medicine is made. The *ngom* is dipped in the medicine bowl and the sick person sprinkled with the medicine. Then the witch departs.

At this point the headman Esôya stopped talking. He said, "The children who have gathered around your house must go away; no real man dare talk about the *biang-akamayong* before women and children." I told the children to go and Esôya continued.

The whistle.—This is part of the *biang-akamayong*; it has been cooked (boiled) in the medicine bowl and has great power when used by the headman in calling the men together after a fight.

Mouf.—This is the large horn with a piece of looking glass on top. This horn 789 contains much medicine, and next to the bones is the most important part of the 619 *biang-akamayong*.

The two small antelope horns, and the small bundles of medicine, are *biang e adi* (hiding medicine); it makes the person carrying the *biang-akamayong* invisible to the enemy.